

ABSTRACT

CRIMINAL JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION

ARMSTRONG, GLORIA ROSHAUN B.A., UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT SANTA BARBARA, 1991

THE SOUTH CENTRAL LOS ANGELES BLACK COMMUNITY'S REACTION TO THE LOS ANGELES RIOT IN 1992

Advisor: Dr. Julian B. Roebuck

Thesis dated July, 1993

This thesis is based on field (street) interviews with a sample of 227 black community members living and/or working in South Central Los Angeles at the time of the 1992 riot. The interview schedule comprises thirty-one attitudinal and behavioral questions designed to: (1) compare the demographic characteristics and perceptions of the respondents who rioted (N=26) with those respondents who did not participate in the riot (N=200); and (2) to determine the feelings and reactions of all respondents to the riot.

The rioters in comparison to those who did not participate in the riot were found to be younger; more frequently male than female; at a lower educational level; at a lower income level; and had been arrested more frequently.

Thirty-six percent felt the rioters were justified in their actions; understood the frustration and anger of the participants; and expressed a lack of faith in the criminal justice system. Sixty-three percent were outraged and angered by the Rodney King beating; while, 36 percent expressed sadness and fearfulness by this attack. Sixty percent were outraged and angered by the not guilty verdict in the Rodney King case, whereas 34 percent expressed sadness and fearfulness. A majority, 60 percent were disturbed by the beating of Reginald Denny, and felt that one beating did not call for or justify another. The two most significant qualitative findings are as follows: (1) most neither participated in the riot, nor deemed it justifiable; and (2) most had not lost complete faith in the Los Angeles criminal justice system. Finally, the feelings and reactions of the rioters and non-participants were similar but varied in degree.

THE SOUTH CENTRAL LOS ANGELES BLACK COMMUNITY'S REACTION
TO THE LOS ANGELES RIOT IN 1992

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

GLORIA ROSHAUN ARMSTRONG

DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JULY 1993

R.V T. 84

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want... Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me..." - 23 Psalms

I give thanks to my Saviour and my God who has given me yet another blessing. The strength and determination He has bestowed upon me made all that I have achieved possible.

I especially thank Dr. K.S. Murty and Dr. Julian B. Roebuck for their support and guidance throughout my entire Master of Arts degree program. I sincerely thank Mrs. Estella Funnye' for her immeasurable concern and commitment.

No words exist that can express my love, gratitude, and appreciation of my parents, Samuel and Gloria Armstrong. Their prayers, love, encouragement and advice have surpassed any that I could have hoped to receive. Daddy and mommy, thank you and I love you.

Special thanks are extended to my brothers and sister, family, friends, and special loved ones. Also, I thank my "Blue Zone Crew" - Michael, Celeste, and Gerry for their continued support.

Finally, I thank the people of South Central Los Angeles, students at Crenshaw High School, owners of Le Chic Hair Design, members of Bethany Missionary Baptist Church, local businesses and organization leaders and all interviewees - all of whom made this project possible.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The battery of African-American Los Angeles motorist, Rodney Glenn King, 25, by four white Los Angeles police officers in Los Angeles on March 3, 1991; and, the subsequent rioting and looting, from April 29 through May 4, 1992, (following the "not guilty" verdict of the Los Angeles Police Department [LAPD] officers) have been the subject of controversy at the grassroots, state, and national levels. Similarly, reactions have varied in response to the beating of Reginald Denny, a white truck driver, by four black males and their subsequent arrest. Many of these responses as reported in the media have differed in terms of the ethnicity and political stance of the reporter. Consequently, concern has increased in the black community regarding the use of unnecessary force by the police. The beating and the ensuing not guilty verdict in the Rodney King court case triggered numerous militant acts by the members of the Los Angeles black community. These incidents led many, particularly African-Americans, to question the criminal justice system's aims and effectiveness in delivering justice. Furthermore, there has emerged much concern about what to do about the equal justice problem.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is four-fold: (1) to examine the historical race-relations background of the Los Angeles Police Department preceding the Los Angeles riots; (2) to describe the riot events that evolved as a result of the Rodney King beating, as reported in the media and in other secondary sources; (3) to ascertain the demographic characteristics of the rioters and looters in comparison with those who did not participate in the riot; and (4) to analyze the reactions and feelings of black citizens who lived and/or worked in South Central Los Angeles at the time of the riot.

These objectives were accomplished by: first, reviewing the riot literature; second, giving an official chronological account of the riot from inception to conclusion; third, providing information regarding the circumstances that sparked the riot; fourth, sketching the problematic past of the Los Angeles Police Department; fifth, comparing the characteristics and perceptions of those who rioted with those who did not riot; sixth, analyzing the first-hand reactions and feelings of black citizens who lived and/or worked in the Los Angeles community at the time of the Rodney King beating and the ensuing riot; (that is, as reported to the author during field interviews); and, seventh, comparing specific

perceptions of those who rioted and looted with those who did not participate.

Rationale of the Study

This author reasoned that the civil disorders in the City of Los Angeles, following the acquittal of the white police officers, were not merely a demonstration of displeasure at the King beating and the subsequent not guilty verdict, but a release of frustration toward the criminal justice system for its perceived mistreatment of the black community over an extensive period of time. This violent reaction probably occurred because of a long-standing, deep-seeded resentment toward the Los Angeles police by the black citizens of South Central Los Angeles because of the following reasons: (1) past police acts and provocations that had sparked previous riots; (2) the problematic history of the Los Angeles Police Department; (3) adverse neighborhood social and economic conditions; and, (4) perceptions that the criminal justice system in Los Angeles did not treat blacks fairly and equally.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study inheres in the need for an accurate account of the Los Angeles riot within its social context; and, the need of first-hand reactions to the

riot by black community members. Prior accounts and assessments of the riot have been given by people in the media and by academicians - those who were not social actors on the scene. Acknowledging the importance of these reports, black people's reactions, views and perspectives (who lived and/or worked in the community where the riot occurred), however, are most important. These natural, grassroots social actors on the scene included: South Central Los Angeles' restaurant and shop employees; local businesses, employees, managers and owners; heads and staffs of black organizations; city employees, and other residents. These are the people who will continue to live with and endure the affects of the riot. This research, in brief, attempts to unveil the Los Angeles, African-American community's: (1) initial reaction/feelings to the Rodney King beating; (2) initial reaction/feelings to the not guilty verdict handed down by the Simi Valley jury; (3) participation in the riot and/or looting; (4) reaction/feelings toward the actions of the rioters and looters; and (5) reaction/feelings toward the beating of white trucker Reginald Denny.

Because no community including the black community is homogenous in population structure, the author reasoned that the rioters were not evenly distributed in all segments of the black population; that is, by age, gender, education,

income, arrest history, employment status, and residence. The researcher, therefore, compared the demographics and some specific perceptions of those who rioted with those who did not participate.

Definition of Key Terms

Accused - The generic name for the defendant in a criminal case.

Acquittal - A release, absolution, or discharge resulting from a criminal charge or trial.

Arrest - To deprive a person of his liberty by legal authority. The taking, under real or assumed authority, custody of another for the purpose of holding or detaining him to answer a criminal charge or civil demand.

Criminal Justice System - The network of courts and tribunals, correctional personnel, prosecution and defense attorneys, and the police who deal with offenders, criminal law and its enforcement.

Riot - A public disturbance involving an illegal act or acts of violence by one or more persons of an assemblage, which act or acts shall constitute a clear and present danger of, or result in damage or injury to property or individuals.

Rioter - One who encourages, promotes, or takes part in a riot.

Unnecessary (Excessive) Force - The amount of force which is beyond the need and circumstances of a particular event, or which is not justified in light of all the circumstances as in the case of deadly force to protect property as contrasted with protecting life. Force may be used to enforce arrest; prevent suspects from fleeing; in self defense; and the protection of life. Necessary force must always be at the minimum to enforce the law.

Verdict - The formal decision or finding made by a jury upon the matters or questions duly submitted to them during the trial.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE LOS ANGELES RIOT

Riots have been a part of our nation's history since its founding. Riots are defined as the eruption of a group of people into public violence and disorder who have a common interest and purpose -- usually contrary to law (Radelet 1986). Behavioral responses in the form of violence have been used as means of protest against the social and economic order by rioters who view such an order as oppressive. A riot challenges the legitimacy of existing authority and institutions, and is usually a response to feelings and perceptions of powerlessness, oppression, discrimination, and/or injustices. There are disagreements as to whether such outbursts of violence are riots or rebellions. One clinical psychologist suggests that a riot is a spontaneous event without any necessary sense of direction, while rebellions are usually organized with a general target or aim (Wall 1992). Regardless of precise definition, many of our nation's most serious and destructive civil disturbances have been called riots, as were the recent Los Angeles disturbances in 1992. Riots are seldom planned and often occur after the rioters become frustrated because they feel the use of other measures have failed (Rosenthal 1969). In brief, rioters come to feel

that physical confrontation is necessary in order to achieve their goal.

Some students of riots maintain that incidents of actual or assumed police brutality have triggered many inner city riots. Many reports on inner city riots indicate that they were presaged by a heavy migration of blacks into the rioting community resulting in competition between them and whites for jobs; e.g. as reported for the riots in Washington in 1968, Chicago in 1919, Tulsa in 1968, and Los Angeles (Watts) in 1965 (Rainwater 1970).

Overview of Past Riots

Los Angeles Watts Riot in 1965

America was stunned by the rioting that engulfed the "City of Angels" in the summer of 1965. The riots were sparked by the arrest of black motorist, Marquette Frye, 21, who was stopped by the police for dangerous driving on August 11, 1965 (Glasgow 1980). Arrested for driving under the influence, this youth exchanged words with the officers in a confrontational manner. Meanwhile, a crowd of approximately 300 persons had gathered, and joined in the heated exchange. The crowd grew angry and began throwing rocks at the police vehicles as they were departing. Additional officers were called to the scene at Avalon Boulevard and 116th Street, where a battle ensued between

the police and the crowd. Soon, some white motorists driving through the vicinity were stopped and beaten; others' automobiles were pelted with rocks, boards, bottles and chunks of asphalt (Crump 1966).

Eventually, the looting and burning of property, attacks against white motorists and law enforcement officers, and the destruction of cars, buildings, and stores escalated throughout the city. The disorder spread and covered over 46 square miles beyond the original beginning point, and beyond the control of local agencies. The National Guard was called out to aid in restoring public order. The rioting lasted for six days, ending with over 30 persons dead, thousands injured, more than 600 buildings burned and looted, and an estimated \$40 million in property damages (McCone 1965; Cohen 1970). This explosion, which included the participation of thousands of black residents, indicated that the revolt was an outcry from the Watts community against existing conditions and the social order.

Douglas Glasgow, the author of The Black Underclass and professor of social welfare at Howard University, believed the Watts riot was an explosion by poor blacks against those whom they hated and resented - the people who profited from their powerless condition and destitution. Nathan Cohen, a professor of sociology, argued that the Watts riot was an effort by the community to force the criminal justice system

to implement its laws more adequately and fairly (Glasgow 1980). The riot was viewed by the black community as positive, and as a way of bringing their plight to the attention of white people, with the assumption that they would take appropriate steps at reform. The period of the 1960s witnessed a rapid change in technology, a growing population, and urbanization (Cohen 1970). Although society was rapidly changing, the social attitudes and social institutions were not. The Watts riot was a violent form of questioning society's problems and its failure to alter social attitudes and institutions. The repressive conditions of economic dependency, inadequate housing, unemployment, poor educational resources, and weak methods of social control - all were problems facing blacks in the Watts community. These problems explained why the people rioted (Cohen 1970).

Detroit Riot in 1967

The Detroit riot on July 27, 1967 started in a police raid at a local, after-hours tavern on Twelfth Street. Approximately 80 patrons were arrested, after the police kicked down the club's door (Nicholls 1968). A crowd of about 200 agitated persons gathered, and some threatened the police. Eventually, bottles were thrown into the last cruiser carrying away the arrestees and into store windows

on the street (Parmenter 1970). The city exploded into a full riot on noon the next day when the rest of the city awakened to heavily armed police in the street, and the blocking off Twelfth Street; that is, when rumors of excessive force by the police circulated (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders 1968). By this time widespread looting was being engaged in by blacks. Within a week an estimated \$40 million in property damage had taken place, hundreds of people had been injured, at least 44 killed, and over 6,000 ghetto residents arrested (Balbus 1973).

Researchers believed the explosive atmosphere in Detroit in 1967 was caused by the black community's increasing irritation over adverse social and economic conditions, and police discrimination. The major underlying reason for the riot was the black community's rising expectations of educational, financial, and occupational improvements; that is, relative to that of whites (Balbus 1973). The rioters believed that the riot would be helpful to the black cause in America, and perceived it to be an acceptable protest tactic. Thus, some of those persons who felt deprived, isolated, and powerless from normative social structures tended to take the role of the rioter (Singer and Osborn 1970).

Miami Riot in 1980

Arthur McDuffie, an African-American insurance agent from Miami, Florida was headed home on his motorcycle on December 17, 1979. According to the police report, he ran a red light and sped away leading to a police pursuit of about a dozen police cars for a period of eight minutes (Porter and Dunn 1984). McDuffie finally stopped at the corner of North Miami Avenue and 38th Street where the police brutally beat him until his head was split open. As a result of his injuries he died four days later (Miami Herald 1991). Four officers were charged with manslaughter and tried in Tampa, 200 miles away from Miami, and found not guilty by an all white jury on May 17, 1980 (Porter and Dunn 1984). Following the verdict, the city was torn by violence, arson and looting for the next three days that left 18 persons dead, 300 injured, 1,000 arrested, and property damage estimated at \$100 million (Porter and Dunn 1984; Miami Herald 1980).

Porter and Dunn (1984) believed the immediate cause of the riot was the verdict in the McDuffie court case. Similar to previous riots the verdict was seen by blacks as an injustice against them as a race. They also believed the community did not just react to the killing of McDuffie, but to what the police had done in the past, and how they were perceived by the rioting community. The underlying

cause of the riot was the black community's exclusion from America's economic and social institutions, whereby, they felt victimized rather than served by the social order.

The preceding riots, as others involving black citizens, demonstrate similarities in adverse pre-riot social and economic conditions. Each involved an assumed unwarranted attack by white police officers against black suspects, unacceptable to the black community. As a result, a civil disturbance took place that expressed the black community's frustration and lack of tolerance for the behavior of the criminal justice system.

In general, a review of the riot literature involving blacks contains information that focus on: (1) selected accounts of previous riots; (2) social tensions generated by prejudice, discrimination, and poverty that are offered as partial explanations for rioting in inner cities; and (3) weaknesses in the social control systems of law enforcement and the social order which encourages violence (Tanowitz 1968).

The Los Angeles Riot in 1992

Official Chronology

The Los Angeles riot in 1992 has had a profound affect on the lives of many throughout the nation. Its impact cannot be measured by materialistic values or expressed by

descriptive terms. Following is a chronological account of the riot, from inception to conclusion, as reported by the Webster Commission's, The City in Crisis, October, 1992.

Wednesday, April 29, 1992:

12:45 p.m. - Notice was given that verdicts will be announced in two hours.

3:10 p.m. - Verdicts were announced.

3:20 p.m. - Angry crowds gathered at 55th Street and Normandie.

Approx. 4 p.m. - Teenager beat Korean store owner, chased by police to Dalton and Florence Avenue and arrested. An angry crowd gathered to prevent arrest and police dispersed.

4:15 p.m. - First looting occurs at Florence and Normandie Avenue.

5:00 p.m. - Chief Gates made public announcement, "We are prepared for this."

5:45 p.m. - Rioters at Florence and Normandie Avenue attack cars and motorists.

6:15 p.m. - Field Command Post established at 54th Street and Arlington Avenue (RTD Bus yard).

6:45 p.m. - Reginald Denny pulled out of truck and beaten at Florence and Normandie Avenue.

7:00 p.m. - Protestors were reported as smashing windows at Parker Center (LAPD Headquarters). Their cry: "No Justice, No Peace."

8:00 p.m. - Governor Wilson announces that 2,000 National Guard will be sent to Los Angeles.

8:45 p.m. - First report of arson along Vermont Avenue.

10:00 p.m. - Protestors ransack City Hall, City Hall East and Los Angeles Mall.

11:00 p.m. - Chief Gates goes to 77th Division and orders change in deployment procedures.

Thursday, April 30, 1992:

Midnight to 3:00 a.m. - Three new fires per minute reported.

12:10 a.m. - Governor Wilson declares state of emergency.

2:55 a.m. - Transformers exploding, darkened area extends from Manchester to Vernon Avenue. At least 30 to 40 buildings are smoldering or actively burning. Stores are still being entered and looted.

10:30 a.m. - Vons (grocery store) at 3rd Street and Vermont Avenue is looted. Nearby apartment building burning. No police present.

1:30 p.m. - First National Guard troops deployed into South Central Los Angeles.

3:30 p.m. - Major structure fires. Entire block is burning at Pico and Alvarado.

3:55 p.m. - Curfew, gasoline and ammunition restrictions extended City-wide until sunrise Friday, May 1.

10:00 p.m. - 12,700 customers, mostly in the South Central area, are still without power.

Midnight - Death toll stands at 25, 572 injuries, 1,000 fires, 720 arrests, 30 active structure fires, 119 incidents with 122 LAFD Fire Companies and 20 Rescue Ambulances committed.

Friday, May 1, 1992:

12:01 a.m. - National Guard federalized.

5:00 a.m. - President orders 1,200 federal agents to assist in restoring order to Los Angeles.

9:00 a.m. - Mayor Bradley signs Order extending curfew.

Early p.m. - Rodney King makes statement over television.

Saturday, May 2, 1992:

11:30 a.m. - Mayor Bradley announces City-wide curfew indefinitely.

5:15 p.m. - Mayor Bradley announces Peter Uberroth will head the Rebuild L.A. effort. President declares Los Angeles a disaster area.

Time Uncertain - Television programming back to normal, power lines repaired, limited bus service restored.

Sunday, May 3, 1992:

9:55 a.m. - L.A. County Sheriff approves withdrawal of law enforcement mutual aid forces from L.A.

12:06 p.m. - CHP demobilizes.

Monday, May 4, 1992:

8:00 a.m. - Emergency Control Center is shut down.

10:40 a.m. - Curfew is lifted; ban on gasoline in containers and alcohol remains.

11:50 a.m. - Agreement is made that federal law enforcement presence is no longer needed.

Friday, May 8, 1992:

Time Uncertain - Federal troops begin pullout of Los Angeles.

Sunday, May 10, 1992:

12:00 midnight - Federalization is lifted.

6:00 a.m. - City-wide mobilization terminated.

The black community's reaction to the verdict was outrage and anger, and of course, the riot. Destruction and violence continued throughout a six-day period, leaving over 50 people dead, more than 700 businesses burned, and \$1 billion in property damage (Webster Commission 1992).

Explanation

On March 3, 1991 shortly after 12 midnight Rodney King was stopped for driving at an excessive speed of 100 miles per hour in his white Hyundai (Dunne 1991a). In the arrest process King was senselessly beaten by four male white Los Angeles Police Department officers, while twenty-one fellow officers stood back as spectators (Prud'Homme 1991; Scott 1991). Fortunately, this vicious incident was recorded on a personal Sony sound camcorder by an amateur photographer; and, later aired on television news channels to be viewed by citizens throughout the nation. The videotape showed a suspect-victim unarmed, unresisting, handcuffed, and crouched in a fetal position on the ground while police continuously beat him (Morrow 1991). Viewers from coast-to-coast were shocked and dismayed at the inhumane treatment inflicted upon another human being. This presentation of violence incited inquiries into the regularity of the use of excessive force by police officers upon civilians. These concerns have confronted police departments nationwide,

particularly in the Los Angeles based department.

Although many people were taken aback by the actions the Los Angeles police officers displayed, there was (and is) a number of citizens who were not surprised at all. A large percentage of African-Americans and other minority members have claimed that incidents of this nature were not unusual. A poll was taken in 1991 of Los Angeles citizens among various ethnicities concerning the frequency of police brutality by officers policing in their community. The poll revealed that 63 percent of those surveyed felt that police usage of unnecessary force was common; while 28 percent said it was "very common;" and 35 percent said "fairly common" (Rohrlich 1991). A significant proportion of African-Americans and Hispanic residents have argued that the Los Angeles police have continually abused their authority routinely in the inner city neighborhoods they police (Braun 1991a). The frequency of brutality cases in the past show that African-Americans and other minorities have been victimized more frequently than whites. Alex Swan found that race was a principal element in police brutality in his examination of riots that occurred during the 1960s in Detroit, Chicago, and New York (Swan 1974).

Yet, despite the frequent reports on police brutality in black neighborhoods across the country many minority members in Los Angeles rarely file complaints against the

police because they assume that "nothing will ever come of it." However, because a videotape showed the police abusing King, many citizens became hopeful that justice would be meted out in his case.

The Trial

As the criminal trial for the four Los Angeles police officers got underway on February 3, 1992 in a Ventura County courtroom, the Los Angeles community was in an uproar. This reaction was in response to the unprecedented change in venue of the court case from Los Angeles to Simi Valley - an overwhelmingly white community with an estimated four thousand active and retired law enforcement personnel population (Wall 1992). On the other hand, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) had concerns of its own. At stake in this trial was not only the humanity of Rodney King, but the Los Angeles Police Department's (previously) secure reputation as held by other police departments nationwide; that is, as an efficient and most effective department in combatting crime.

As crime rates had consistently increased, in the six largest cities in the nation, the Los Angeles police had held the reputation of being the most active in fighting crime. Though the LAPD has had the least officers per resident and the fewest officers per square mile, it has

maintained more arrests per officer than other forces - and had continuously done so since the positioning of Daryl Gates as chief of police in 1978 (Independent Commission 1991). Yet, after 14 years of service as chief of police, Daryl Gates was faced with the possibility that the LAPD faced investigation in a court of law. After more than a two-month-long court battle, a seven man - five woman all white jury (with the exception of one Hispanic and one Filipino woman) rendered a verdict of "not guilty" (Cockburn 1992). The disclosure of this judgment made a profound impact on Los Angeles and the rest of the nation. The repercussions of the events that followed will probably affect many generations to come.

Riot Events

Following the verdict acquitting the four white Los Angeles police officers on April 29, 1992 at 3:00 p.m., a civil disturbance took place in the streets of Los Angeles. The following disturbances have been considered to comprise the most lethal urban riot in United States history - with more than 50 people dead, thousands injured and millions of dollars in property damage and destruction (Assembly Special Committee 1992). Over a period of seventy-two hours, looting, burning, and brutal beatings occurred throughout the city. The unrest touched the lives of all classes and

ethnicities, and spanned the areas of Long Beach, Compton, South Central Los Angeles, Koreatown, Wilshire, Westwood, and Beverly Hills. However, the most concentrated area of disorder occurred in South Central Los Angeles (SCLA), a heavily populated African-American and Hispanic community.

The disturbances were generated by ten youths who beat a Korean merchant and hurled rocks at a police vehicle in the vicinity of Dalton and Florence Avenue. These youths were chased by police officers to 71st Street and Normandie Avenue where the police "manhandled" and arrested three of the suspects. Meanwhile a hostile crowd formed where the incident occurred and began throwing rocks and bottles at twenty officers on the scene (Bradley 1992). At this point LAPD officials ordered the officers to withdraw from the area and report to the command post at 54th Street and Arlington, a Rapid Transit District facility. Immediately following the first looting that took place at a Korean owned liquor store, attacks followed on cars and motorists. A white trucker, Reginald Denny, was dragged from his truck and beaten at the intersection of Florence and Normandie Avenue (Vernon 1993). Many hours elapsed and disorder had progressed enormously, but still there was no evidence of police presence, or an attempt at restoring order. The intentions and effectiveness of LAPD's leadership became questionable. There was obviously an inadequate response,

and a lack of preparation on the part of the LAPD and other public safety and law enforcement agencies. The civil disorder that followed the announcement of the King verdict was fundamentally a problem of nonexistent planning and insufficient training, as well as a lack of guidance from the upper ranks of the LAPD (Webster Commission 1992).

Interpretation and Group Reaction

Thus, hours of uncontrolled mayhem occurred in the City of Los Angeles. Through destructive means, community members displayed their frustration over poverty, lack of opportunity, racism, and injustice (Hartman 1992). The group members responsible for most of the devastation were African-Americans and Hispanics, because they were the most affected by adverse and inadequate social conditions. Yet, the reactions of these group members to the riot prior to this author's research have not been solicited. Society has heavily relied on the media for an explanation of riot conditions and viewpoints of the people most affected. These interpretations are second-hand and unrelated to the everyday lives of the citizens who were at the riot scene. It was necessary that the Los Angeles citizens themselves be given the opportunity to express their reactions and feelings to the events that took place within their community.

The Los Angeles Police Department in Social Context

At the time of the riots and preceding the King beating, Daryl Gates was the chief of police in Los Angeles. When he was installed as chief in 1978, he promoted the "thin blue line" model of a professional, well-disciplined, highly trained, technically sophisticated, and aggressive crime-fighting department rather than a crime prevention police department model that was developed by his predecessor and mentor, former chief William Parker. Along with a highly specialized training and professional approach, the Los Angeles Police Department maintained a paramilitary Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) team, which utilized aggressive equipment like helicopters and battering rams. Though a small force for a city its size, with only 8,450 officers to service 450 square miles (two officers per 1,000 residents), it relied on the technical support of a military type operation (Dunne 1991b). But as a result of its paramilitary style and small size, the LAPD became isolated from the community it was expected to serve and protect.

However, in 1983 Gates developed a community policing program, Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE), [whereby police officers educate youth on the dangers of drug abuse at local schools] (Worsnop 1991). The success of this program led many police departments to adopt it across the

country. In addition, the LAPD has a program which require each of its eighteen divisions to have a Community Relations Officer (CRO) team which is suppose to concentrate on community-police relations. There is no evidence that this CRO program is successful.

Police Brutality and Injustices

Although the LAPD has implemented a few community-based programs similar to others throughout the country, unfortunately it has been marred by citizen complaints of police misconduct over the years. For decades the black citizens of Los Angeles have been tormented by the Los Angeles Police Department (treated unequally and without respect), and have never bought this department's "justifiable homicide" reports. On January 3, 1979, Eula Mae Love, a thirty-nine year old, five feet, four inches tall, widowed mother of three (who lived in a bungalow home in South Central Los Angeles), was shot and killed by Los Angeles police officers. Eula Mae Love had an overdue gas bill on which she made installment payments. She became irritated with the maintenance man who came to her house to take collections. He called the police for assistance. The police on arrival drew their guns and aimed at Eula Mae as she hacked a tree with a boning knife. The knife was eventually knocked out of her hand by an officer when she

tried to pick it up. At this point two officers opened fire shooting her twelve times in less than four seconds (Dunne 1991b).

More alarming was the dismantling of two apartment duplexes on 39th Street and Dalton Avenue by eighty-eight LAPD officers in August of 1988. The officers burst through doors with guns, sledgehammers, and crowbars in hand. Helicopters flew overhead in search of drugs and gang members suspected of shootings in the neighborhood (Braun 1991b). The police destroyed all four apartments; that is, smashed windows, home electronics, bedroom and living-room sets; tore toilets from their pipes; demolished ceilings and walls; cut and slashed couches, chairs and phone wires; and destroyed food, dishes, furniture and clothing by throwing them out of windows. The personal belongings of the residents fell beside them as they laid, handcuffed and face down on the ground. Amidst the destruction no weapons and drugs were found except for a small amount of cocaine and marijuana belonging to two nonresidents. After 3.4 million dollars in property damage, the Los Angeles police officers before leaving, spray-painted in graffiti writing on the wall: "LAPD Rules" and "Rolling 30's Die" -- a neighborhood gang (Domanick 1992).

Also in 1988, the LAPD began Operation Hammer, a full-scale raid of black communities. These raids were conducted

without valid reasons for arresting the citizens, whomever was on the streets at the time was arrested. In April 1988 the police descended upon ten square miles of South Central Los Angeles and arrested 1,453 African-American youths (Webster Commission 1992). More than 50,000 youths were detained and up to 90 percent of the victims of Operation Hammer were released without charge (Cooper 1992).

The Los Angeles Police Department continued its tradition of "rough justice" (whereby blacks were subjected to judicial injustices) throughout the late 1980s and into the 1990s. In 1990 a videotape was taken of Don Jackson, an African-American, off-duty police officer, in Long Beach, California. He had a heated exchange and altercation with two white officers. Neither of whom knew Jackson was also a police officer. The video showed Jackson covered with glass from a store window that shattered while the two white officers searched him during an arrest procedure. Subsequently, Jackson brought charges against the two white police officers for alleged police misconduct; however, both white officers were acquitted. Black community members were convinced, on the basis of the evidence, that the two white officers were guilty of police brutality (Cockburn 1991). Also in 1990, Latasha Harlins, an African-American 15 year old, was fatally shot by a Korean store owner in South Central Los Angeles just blocks away from the inception of

the 1992 riot. The entire incident was captured on an audio/video camera in the store and was submitted as evidence in the trial. In this case the presiding judge sentenced Soon Ja Du to five years probation for killing the black teenager in a dispute over a bottle of orange juice (Chavez 1991). Finally, the videotaped beating of Rodney King by LAPD officers raised fundamental questions about police conduct in Los Angeles.

Brutality Survey

The Los Angeles Times conducted a telephone survey on Thursday and Friday nights during a short period in 1991 on brutality instances that citizens were aware of personally. One out of four citizens polled said they had either seen or been involved in an incident involving excessive force utilized by a LAPD officer. Black citizens polled reported that one of three said they had seen or been in such an incident (Rohrlich 1991).

Christopher Commission Investigation

In April of 1991 the Christopher Commission conducted a comprehensive investigation into all the public complaints that were filed and registered against the LAPD between 1986-1990. The Commission found that 83 civil damage lawsuits involving unnecessary force claims during this

period resulted in a settlement of more than \$15,000 each (Independent Commission 1991). The Commission also discovered that a strong concentration of these allegations made against police officers were confined to a particular group of officers; that these policemen's actions were aggravated by racism and bias. Approximately 10 percent of the force's officers generated 27.5 percent of all citizen complaints of unnecessary force, and 10 percent accounted for one-third of all the use of force reports (Dunne 1991b). The LAPD in an investigation of over 1,440 unnecessary force complaints from 1986-1990 found that less than one percent of the officers charged in these cases were fired (Barrett and Parrish 1991). Stiff penalties were also rare in disciplining officers for excessive force. For example, in 1986 ten officers who were suspended for excessive force received more than 22 days without pay, while 49 officers received 10 days or fewer without pay. In contrast, in 1988 a patrol officer who was reported hugging and kissing his girlfriend while on duty, and in uniform, received a 33-day suspension (Barrett and Parrish 1991). Obviously, the Los Angeles Police Department prior to the riot had been aware of police misconduct and brutality for many years. Its failure to analyze and take measures to eradicate these problems indicated racial bias and a breakdown in department leadership (Dunne 1991b).

These cases illustrate the injustices against African-Americans on both sides of the criminal justice system, all being "strikes," while the Rodney King beating and ensuing verdict were the sparks igniting the Los Angeles riots of 1992. Ample evidence displays the brutalities inflicted on black citizens throughout the years; nevertheless, complaints to the power structure and the police department had gone unanswered. The demographics of Los Angeles have changed drastically within the past 30 years, from a predominately white to an overwhelmingly minority population, while the power structure has remained the same - thus leaving minority groups with feelings of powerlessness, and of being treated unequally.

Social and Economic Conditions Affecting Riots

A study conducted in 1965, on riots that occurred prior to the Watts riot (that is, on African-American communities in seven eastern cities [New York City, Rochester, Jersey City, Paterson, Elizabeth, Chicago (Dixmoor), and Philadelphia]), found several common fundamental causes: a severe lack of jobs per capita population, poor and inadequate educational institutions, and citizens' open hostility toward the police as representatives of authority. It was also found that the black population in Los Angeles had significantly increased from 75,000 in 1940 to 650,000

in 1965 (McCone 1965). Research conducted by Benjamin Singer in 1967-1968 on the Detroit riot that took place in July, 1967, revealed that during the period between 1950 and 1968, the proportion of nonwhites in Detroit increased from 16.4 percent to at least 35 percent in 1967 (Singer and Osborn 1970). This was a result of black migration from the South in hopes of a more prosperous future - unfortunately finding nothing but disillusionment and frustration. Black in-migration and white exodus throughout the United States yielded a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services, and unmet human needs (Kerner Commission 1968).

The in-and-out migration of the inner cities has resulted in the development of isolated black communities, whereby a large percentage of blacks and a small percentage of Hispanics increasingly come into conflict (Glasgow 1980). Intercultural tensions and insecurities underline these two ethnic groups who face job discrimination, poor housing, and inadequate recreational facilities - without attempts by the larger community to affect intercultural education and understanding (Robinson 1949).

Large scale growth in population for the past two decades has had a serious effect on the economic situation in urban areas. Many blacks living within the inner-cities have faced increased poverty and unemployment. The unemployment of blacks in the Detroit urban areas during the

previously mentioned time period, 1950-1968, was 10.9 percent versus 3.2 percent for whites (U.S. Department of Labor 1968). City leadership throughout the United States has not provided jobs, adequate housing, and sound academic institutions to comply with the needs of an urban population. A major problem in the inner-cities is that the underclass residents do not control the services, markets, or businesses in their community. Money continually flows out instead of circulating inside (Glasgow 1980).

On May 14, 1992, Congresswoman Maxine Waters gave a report before the Senate Banking Committee stating that in Los Angeles 40 to 50 percent of all black men were unemployed, and that the city's overall poverty rate was 32.9 percent (Waters 1992). This rate of unemployment and poverty was extremely high for any urban city. However, the situation was much worse in the South Central Los Angeles (SCLA) area as compared to the entire city. The most updated census indicates that 523,000 people lived in SCLA in 1990 of whom 56 percent were African-Americans. The average income for persons living in SCLA was \$18,991 per household, thus forcing 30 percent of the families in this area to live in poverty (Senate Task Force 1992). More devastating is that over 44 percent of children in SCLA in 1990 lived in poverty as compared to 38.2 percent of African-American children living in poverty in the entire

City of Los Angeles (Assembly Special Committee 1992). This excruciatingly high percentage of poverty-stricken children was more than likely reflective of increased unemployment within the last three years. The Los Angeles area lost over 300,000 jobs between 1990 and 1992 accounting for 60 percent of the statewide job losses during that period. This especially affected South Central Los Angeles (Assembly Special Committee 1992).

Unfortunately, as a result of the Los Angeles riots in 1992, these percentages have increased. It has been estimated that tens of thousands of additional jobs were lost due to the riots, in addition to the nation's regular cutbacks. This will add another 10 to 20 percent to SCLA's unemployed work force (Waters 1992).

Political Events Preceding Riots

Numerous perceived-to-be adverse political events frequently precede riots. At the onset of the 1960s, many blacks were concerned with the nation's criminal justice system. The system that was in question upheld the release of the suspects in the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi; who had failed to obtain convictions against the suspected murderers of Medgar Evers and Violet Liuzzo; who had witnessed the police violence in Selma, Alabama; and that was aware of reported racial violence throughout the

nation (Bayard 1971). In addition to the nation's perceived adversities, the City of Los Angeles confronted other unfavorable issues at this time as well. In Los Angeles the 1964 Rumford Act was repealed, which would have provided a fair-housing law in California (Bayard 1971). In the same year Proposition 14 was adopted, a federal anti-poverty program which did not meet the community's expectations. These events are only a few examples that augmented the tense situation that prevailed in Los Angeles prior to the Watts riot in 1965. In Los Angeles prior to the riot of 1992, the Los Angeles Police Commission had been unable to get rid of the LAPD's Chief of Police Daryl Gates. Furthermore, the acquittal of four white police officers by an all white jury (after a videotape that demonstrated excessive force in the arrest of Rodney King) created a dangerous situation.

Riot Participation

Sears and McConahay (1967) conducted a study of the participation of persons in the 1965 Los Angeles riot, utilizing T.M. Tomlinson and Diana TenHouten's data base collected in 1965-66. This data base consisted of 710 cases representing two different samples: One, a random sample of 586 residents in the Curfew Zone, a 46.5 square mile area (including 128 census tracts covering a total population of

over 300,000); and second, a sample of 124 arrestees for riot activity (of which 109 were selected from a list of 200 arrestees, that was made available by the American Civil Liberties Union). These subjects were divided into two groups, depending upon their activity level during the riots. The first group comprised "gladiators," people who were more than just observers. These were the people who looted, burned, and destroyed stores and buildings; who pulled motorists from their cars and beat them; and, who attacked firemen and exchanged gunshots with law enforcement officers who came into the riot area. The second group consisted of "active spectators," those who were on the streets in close proximity to the people who were being attacked and to the stores being looted.

Analysis of the Curfew Zone sample suggested that 15 percent (or up to 34,000 persons) from the black adult population acted as gladiators during the disturbances. An additional 31 percent of the black adult population (or at least 64,000 persons) had acted as spectators to the disturbances, and 54 percent of the population were not active at all in the riot (Cohen 1967). Based on the arrestee sample, 52 percent of the respondents were gladiators, 26 percent were active spectators, and 22 percent were not active participants in the riot, because some innocent persons were arrested during the riot (Sears

and McConohay 1967). This study also revealed that the uprising involved at least 50,000 working-class adults and their teenage children. These results confuted earlier studies on the Watts riot in 1965 that described the riot as a "riot of riffraff."

Sears' and McConahay's findings on the number of riot participants surpassed any estimates made by city officials. A great majority of those living in the Curfew Zone were personally affected by the civil disorder. They also discovered from the data that the most active participants were males, however, the percentage of young female active participants outnumbered that of men over 30 years of age. These divergent percentages of riot participants are indicative of the differing views and attitudes of two different generations in this black community. The evidence indicated a substantial community involvement in the riot, though Sears and McConahay did not "rule out the possibility that certain acts were the work of a small minority" (Cohen 1970).

Another study on the participation in the Watts riot of 1965 was conducted by Moinat and Raine in 1972. This study was based on the Los Angeles Riot Study (LARS) interviews and samples collected, and coordinated by researchers T.M. Tomlinson and Diana TenHouten in 1965 and 1966. This total sample size of 586 black residents

consisted of Tomlinson's and TenHouten's Curfew Zone - consisting of 269 males and 316 females who were randomly selected from the riot curfew area, as identified by the police during the riot. The purpose of this study was to compare riot participants with non-participants, and to delineate a typical riot participant. Moinat and Raine concluded from this study (and from other studies they examined in the literature) that a typical riot participant profile existed; that is, a young, single, male, unemployed, somewhat militant, fairly political person with an average or better than average education. They did not claim to have found a pure determined type, but a likely type. Their results support the theory that rioting is a community phenomenon.

Riot participation has greatly been reflective of a riot area's population and the despair felt by the rioters. Thus, the assumption that blacks have played a large role in civil disorders, in comparison to that of other minorities or ethnic groups is true, because many rioting communities have been largely black, and lower class. However, recently Joan Petersilia, a criminologist, found that in the Los Angeles riot of 1992, 51 percent of those arrested during the most intense period of rioting were Hispanics (RAND 1992; Tomas Rivera Center 1993). It has been conjectured that this majority of Hispanic arrestees

may have reflected the bias of immigration authorities who took advantage of the riot situation to apprehend and deport undocumented immigrants (Tomas Rivera Center 1993). Another explanation to the disproportionate arrest of Hispanics, argued by Petersilla was the fact that African-American and Hispanic women were arrested in similar numbers in this riot suggest that the police were more disinclined to arrest black men rather than Hispanic men (RAND 1992). There were over 5,000 adult arrests from diverse ethnic groups (based on municipal court registration) of whom 233 were Hispanic women, 281 black women, 2,619 Hispanic males, and 1,756 black males (Lieberman 1992). This analysis may not be completely accurate to date, because this study is ongoing and changes may emerge in the ethnic statistics.

Attitudes Toward The Los Angeles Riots

A study was conducted in 1966 by Dr. Frederick Hacker on black community attitudes toward the Watts riot in 1965. He was at this time the advisor to the Westminster Neighborhood Association, the largest social welfare agency in Watts, a section of Los Angeles. Dr. Hacker interviewed thousands of blacks who came into the social welfare agency to be advised, many of whom were from the Watts area. He questioned them on their views regarding the riot, and their support or non-support of the riot and the riot

participants. He found that the majority of the 400,000 blacks in the Watts community supported the riots. Yet, he received varying rationales and attitudes expressed about the riot. Some of his respondents felt that the riot was representative of an explosion similar to that of a powder keg. Another portion insisted that it was a rationally planned demonstration against injustices, while yet other respondents believed it to be simply a rebellion; that is, an assertion of racial independence. Some subjects thought it was a protest against intolerable poverty and despair. However, none of those interviewed considered the riots to be "bad" or "criminal." Some respondents reported the riot to be more or less a counteraction to a situation that offered no other alternative but despair (Hacker 1966).

In response to the looting, most of the Watts riot participants Hacker interviewed thought it was wrong, however, they felt that the looting and burning was "justified" because they were perpetuated for an equitable cause. The items taken from stores were symbolic of a deteriorating faith in the criminal justice system. Many of the stolen objects were destroyed and discarded. Committing these acts gave the rioters a feeling of "collective identity," and the aptitude to unite as a whole with one mind and purpose (Hacker 1970). They had forced the whole nation to be aware of their plight, and of their

resolution to contest the intolerable conditions of an adverse environment. While at the same time, the riot activity restored their feelings of self worth and importance. It was as if they were paving the way for other blacks in fighting injustices.

Sears and Tomlinson examined three myths in 1967 about the views of black residents and arrestees toward the Watts riot; that is, utilizing reports from Tomlinson's and TenHouten's research subjects. Their purpose was to find out if the black community supported the riot; what their perceptions were regarding its outcome; and, the veracity of riot myths held by society. These myths were as follow: (1) riots were viewed favorably by a small segment of the black community; (2) that most blacks saw riots as "purposeless, meaningless, and senseless" acts of criminality; and, (3) that no one, not even blacks, would believe that anything positive could result from riots (Sears and Tomlinson, 1968). They analyzed Tomlinson and TenHouten's interview reports from 710 black persons from the City of Los Angeles. To reiterate, 586 of the respondents were gathered from a random sample of Curfew Zone residents, and 124 arrestees. Sears and Tomlinson found from the Curfew Zone sample that less than half looked upon the riot favorably, whereas 58 percent of the arrestees did. Nevertheless, despite the large number of Curfew Zone

residents who opposed the riot, many expressed an understanding of those who did participate. Many also felt a sense of pride in the black community for taking a public stance against injustice. Although 67 percent of the Curfew Zone respondents disapproved of the riot, far more (29 percent, of the Curfew Zone residents and 69 percent of the arrestee sample) respondents approved than society would have expected, thus the third myth is erroneous (Sears and Tomlinson 1968).

The second myth that explained the riot as simply a disregard for law and order by the black community was also debunked. Fifty-four percent of the Curfew Zone sample, and 48 percent of the arrestees felt that the riot was a protest of racial injustices. Many of the respondents witnessed the riot as an expression of meaningful and exemplary revolutionary tactics. Many in the sample believed that the riot was beneficial, and only a small portion felt otherwise. Fifty-eight percent of the Curfew Zone residents and 54 percent of the arrestees described the riot as having "favorable" effects; and, only 18 percent of the Curfew Zone residents, and 13 percent of the arrestees said "unfavorable" effects would result. Based on the observations of the Curfew Zone residents and the arrestees, Sears and Tomlinson concluded that blacks have changed their position from the past, and have now adopted a militant and

aggressive ideology (Sears and Tomlinson 1968).

Critique of the Literature

The literature review discloses that there has been no systematic attempt to analyze race riots and disturbances in the United States. No extant theory or research design exists for analysis in this area. The research studies are scattered over time and space and vary in competence and testable validity and reliability. Many are not clear in purpose and research design. Most rely on secondary, retrospective data. Many deal with "what was thought" rather than "what was found." Perhaps the studies centering on the Los Angeles Watts riot are the most useful. Hopefully, useful studies will emerge from the 1992 Los Angeles riot. Past studies have indicated that racial disturbances do not just happen by chance; that they are preceded by feelings of injustices, isolation, segregation, economic deprivation, discrimination, powerlessness, anomie, and despair on the part of black community members; and the feelings (among some) that under certain dire circumstances, violence in the form of rioting, vandalism, looting and the use of physical force is necessary as a defense mechanism, as well as a necessary instrument for social change, and eventual self betterment. These studies also disclose that disturbances may be triggered by single perceived instance

of injustice - usually brutality by white police officers. What is most needed are more first-hand reports by the social actors on the riot scene. How do they react to a riot which occurs in their midst, where they live and/or work? How do they perceive its causes, affects, and justifications (if any)? In short, what does the riot mean to them in their everyday lives? This research project was envisioned in these terms.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS, HYPOTHESES, RESEARCH DESIGN, AND DATA COLLECTION

This research compares the participants with the non-participants in the 1992 Los Angeles riot on selected demographics and perceptual variables. Specifically, I conjectured that the participants in comparison to non-participants were likely to be younger; more frequently male; persons lower in education level; persons lower in income level; persons more likely to have been arrested; persons with lower levels of employment; persons who lived and/or worked in the community where the riot occurred for a shorter length of time; persons who more frequently perceived the unnecessary use of force by the police to be increasing; and persons who more frequently perceived the Los Angeles police as a negative force.

It was assumed that unsolicited as well as solicited responses to the interview schedule would enable me to make additional qualitative assessments concerning community members' feelings and reactions to the riot.

Theoretical Assumptions

This study relies on group conflict theory that maintains that opposing groups are formed out of situations

where certain interests are contradictory between those in positions of authority and those in positions of subordination. Each group involved in conflict has its own common interests that determine its positions. These interests tend to overlap with that of other groups, leading the dominant group to seek maintenance of their interests, while the opposing group's demand change (Ritzer 1992). Many conflict theorists argue that conflict leads to positive change and development. Group conflict relative to this study assumes that certain black community members in the City of Los Angeles felt that injustices had been forced upon them by the dominant group's criminal justice system; that is, as triggered by the beating of Rodney King by Los Angeles police officers, and the following not guilty verdict. This reaction confirmed many black community members' convictions that the Los Angeles criminal justice system was, and had been, unfair to them over the years; and, that the Los Angeles Police Department regularly practiced police brutality as a common operating procedure. As mentioned previously, the black community had already perceived the Los Angeles police as unfair and brutal in their dealings with blacks. This researcher assumed that many members of the black community viewed the riot as a necessary instrument for social change.

Conflicts between groups in a community usually seek

the support of the organized state. However, when the disgruntled perceive that the state support system seemingly fails them (for example, the not guilty court verdict) they are more likely to violate the law and participate in riots, because, as they see it, the state defends interests and purposes that are in conflict with their own (Vold and Bernard 1986). The dominant group does not usually find such behavior socially acceptable. Nevertheless, what is unacceptable to one group, may be considered socially acceptable to another. Differing group attitudes such as these comprise the major cause of group conflict and of resultant subcultures in America (Wilson 1978). The culture within each of these subgroups determines many individual's interpretation of a situation or of any specific event, and this follows suit for what many people will perceive as important and worth sacrificing for (Horton 1964). It must be understood that subculture members are not likely to make any sacrifices unless they feel powerless to exert control over the circumstances that effect their lives. This follows the concept of locus control, in which the powerless believe that outside forces are responsible for what happens to them and that their own initiative is meaningless (Wilson 1978).

The struggle over the control of power among conflicting groups many times results in violent collective

behaviors such as riots, especially when one group seeks political or economic changes that have been resisted by another group or groups. Violent confrontations can occur between the police and minority members of the community who feel put upon and powerless (Vold and Bernard 1986). Many contemporary sociologists suggest that such group conflicts precipitate racially motivated riots. Riots are seen to foster change in the power balance between blacks and the dominant white majority. This might be accomplished by structural changes, communications, solidarity and identity functions (Ritzer 1992). These functions tend to increase attention to racial matters, increase solidarity by assisting in the unification of race members, and providing the dissidents with a sense of self. Although the dominant group disapproves of violent behavior, the subordinate group may condone any behavior (the means) that justifies the ends, even that behavior is contrary to the law.

In keeping with group conflict theory, this study was based on the assumption that those who rioted and/or looted felt that they were more in contention with those in positions of authority than those who did not participate in the riot; that they did not necessarily riot or loot for any presumed selfish reason; that many black members of the community felt that an injustice had taken place (in the instance of the Rodney King beating and the verdict

delivered by the Simi Valley jury). It was also assumed that black community members, the subordinate group, interpreted the situation in much the same way as the rioters; and that they understood the rioters' actions. Presumably, the rioters as well as other subordinate group members felt that the rioting and looting might bring about change. Furthermore, it was assumed that a power struggle existed before and following the riot between black community members and the criminal justice system as a whole, rather than against any particular law enforcement division. Given this power struggle, it was assumed that the people within the power structure did not want to abdicate the perceived threat they possessed over the black community.

Questions that Guided the Research

In a general sense these questions were considered in developing the interview schedule:

- (1) What were the reactions/feelings to the Rodney King beating?
- (2) What were the reactions/feelings to the Simi Valley court's verdict of "not guilty" in the case of the four white LAPD officers charged with the use of unnecessary force in arresting Rodney King?
- (3) Who participated in the ensuing riot and looting?

- (4) Were the rioters/looters justified in their actions? If so, in what way?
- (5) What were the reactions/feelings to the Reginald Denny beating?
- (6) What were the reactions/feelings to the arrest of the four men accused of beating Reginald Denny?

Hypotheses

The following nine hypotheses were constructed with reference to a differentiation of participants in the riot from non-participants:

- H1: The younger age group is more likely to have participated in the riot than older counterparts.
- H2: The male gender is more likely to have participated in the riot than female counterparts.
- H3: Persons with a lower level of education are more likely to have participated in the riot than persons with a higher level of education.
- H4: Persons with a lower level of income are more likely to have participated in the riot than persons with a higher level of income.
- H5: Persons who have been arrested are more likely to have participated in the riot than those who have not.

- H6: Persons with part-time or no employment are more likely to have participated in the riot than persons with full-time employment.
- H7: Persons who have lived and/or worked in the community a short length of time are more likely to have participated in the riot than persons who have lived and/or worked there for a longer length of time.
- H8: Persons who perceived that the unnecessary use of force by the police is increasing are more likely to have participated in the riot than persons who perceived that the unnecessary use of force by the police is decreasing or about the same.
- H9: Persons who perceived the Los Angeles police as a negative force are more likely to have participated in the riot than those who perceived the Los Angeles police as a positive force.

Research Design

The relational design was utilized to determine the degree of relationship between the dependent and independent variables. Participation in the riot was the dependent variable; the independent variables were as follows: age, gender, level of education, level of income, arrested or not arrested, level of employment, living and/or working in the

community, perception of unnecessary use of force by the police, and perception of the Los Angeles police as a negative force.

The feelings and reactions of respondents to the riot were analyzed qualitatively as well as with the use of raw percentages.

Research Setting

The data were collected from respondents who were either residents or workers within the inner-city of Los Angeles. As the researcher, I walked the streets of South Central Los Angeles soliciting interviews. I targeted shop owners, managers, and employees; business owners, managers, and employees; street vendors, street workers, cafe and restaurant employees, city employees (excluding the police), high school and college students, and an assortment of people "on the street." Additionally, a number of local church members and known-about community leaders were approached. Many of these respondents were located on some of the largest and most widely used streets, where the riots were incited and occurred; for example, Crenshaw Boulevard, Florence Avenue, Vernon Avenue, and less busy neighboring side streets.

Sampling

Sampling is a process of selecting cases or subjects. The initial step in selecting a sample is to develop a universe or population the researcher has an interest in studying. There are two types of sampling: (1) probability, where every member of the selected population is given an equal chance for selection; and (2) non-probability, where every member of the chosen population is not given an equal chance of being selected. Sampling methods are applied to provide a sample that is representative of the total population. In selecting respondents in this study I used a non-probability procedure of sampling, a purposive or judgmental convenience sample. This method is commonly used when a subgroup is selected from a population on the basis of the researcher's skill, judgment, and respondent availability (Miller 1991). The observations obtained from this method are limited to this subgroup only, and the conclusions deduced from the data might be generalized only from the population within the particular vicinity researched. This, of course, does not mean that such a study, including this one, may not have meaning for other population groups that riot.

A sample of 227 respondents from the inner-city of Los Angeles was selected. These respondents consisted of both male and female participants ranging from 15 to 88 years of

age, with a mean age of about 27. The objective was to obtain a sample of at least 200 African-Americans. I originally had decided to accumulate a sample size of 100 persons, however, the community members I approached were very responsive to my interview requests. Therefore, I seized the opportunity to increase the sample size.

Measurement of Variables

For each independent variable there is a separate rationale and form of measurement.

Age: I assumed that the younger respondents (15-30 years) would be more militant, and therefore more likely to have participated in the riot than older respondents (31+ years).

Sex: I expected the male gender to be more aggressive, and therefore more likely to have participated in the riot than females.

Education: I expected the higher educational level (college/trade school) respondents to be less likely to have participated in the riot than those with a lower educational level (GED or high school), because they are likely to be more cognitive, abstract, and self controlled.

Employment: I expected full-time employed persons to be less hostile, dissatisfied, and militant; to have

a greater stake in the social order; and, therefore less likely to have participated in the riot than persons with part-time or no employment.

Income: I expected lower income level(\$0-19,999) respondents to be less self controlled, more militant, more physical, less cognitive and abstract; to have less stake in the community; and, therefore more likely to have rioted than upper level income (\$20,000+).

Living/Working in the Area: I expected persons living and/or working in the community for a long period of time (10+ years) to be less likely to have participated in the riot than persons living there a shorter period of time (10 years or less), because they were assumed to have stronger community ties and more at stake than short-time workers and inhabitants.

Arrested: I expected persons who had previously been arrested to more likely to perceive the police as a negative entity; to be more hostile to the criminal justice system; and, therefore to be more likely to have rioted than those who had not previously been arrested.

Perception of Force: I expected persons who believe that the use of unnecessary force by the police was increasing to be more radical and negative in their point of view toward the police, and, therefore more likely to have rioted than those who did not believe that the unnecessary use of force by the police was increasing.

Perception of the Police: I expected persons who perceived the police as a negative force to be more inclined to resort to violence and riot than those who perceived the police as a positive force.

Procedure of Data Collection

In collecting the voluntary interview data, an interpersonal and friendly stance was assumed. I solicited the interviews on a face to face basis. I introduced myself as a student and a local member of the community who was conducting research on the riot; explained that their views were essential to my study; that they were free to express themselves in any way, and in any kind of language; that their names would not be used; that they could ask me questions; that as a black person, I was vitally concerned with the way they viewed the riot situation; that they really knew more about the riot than outside people because

they were there on the scene; and that hopefully their responses to my questions might eventually be of some help in improving Los Angeles police-community relations, and the criminal justice system.

I developed and utilized an interview schedule with closed and open ended questions. I chose respondents at random within the community, and only three refused to be interviewed. In some few cases I left the interview questionnaires with members of black organizations and churches returning later to pick them up. In each of these cases, I reviewed the interview questions with the interviewee.

The interview questionnaire contains thirty-one questions, eight of which required an explanatory inquiry, "why?" On the average interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes each. Some respondents were relatively brief and to the point, while others were verbose and long winded. I felt that I gained quick rapport with the respondents. I think one reason for this was my careful explanation of what the interview was about, and what it was to be used for. Another reason was because I, too, am black, currently attending a predominately black university, was reared in Los Angeles, and had attended a local high school in the riot area. Finally, an additional reason for my apparent success at gaining rapport and therefore the data needed was

the structure of the interview schedule. Specific questions were posed in an interrogatory fashion. Direct questions get better results than long qualified and indirect queries. I tried not to cut any respondent off on any question, and in most cases they gave me more information than I asked for. In brief, they were eager to talk about a subject they were concerned with themselves, and a topic that all of them had a point of view on. One could describe them as eager and willing respondents. Lastly, their answers were measured and open; and, they did not need prodding.

Statistical Data Analysis

This study utilized SPSS for Microsoft Windows applications program for data input and analysis. Pearson's r was used to examine the relationship and statistical significance of the data. It is commonly used to describe the linear relationship between pairs of all study variables. The sign of " r " indicates the direction of linear relationship, whether positive or negative, and the coefficient itself indicates the strength of such a relationship, varying from +1.00 to -1.00.

CHAPTER IV

STATISTICAL DATA ANALYSIS

In order to test relationship and significance as asserted in the hypotheses a correlation analysis was utilized. The correlation analysis disclosed that a majority of the independent variables had a significant relationship to the dependent variable. The outcomes are as follows:

H1: The younger age group is more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than their older counterparts.

Table 1: Age of Respondent by Participation in Riot/Looting

		<u>Participation</u>	
<u>Age Group</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
15-30 yrs.		23	136
31+ yrs.		3	64
<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Pearson	4.61866	1	.03163

The results of the findings from Table 1 suggest that the South Central Los Angeles' (SCLA) population between the ages of 15 and 30 is more likely to have participated in the

riot/looting than the population of 31 years or older. This relationship is significant at .05 level, with an estimated 4.62 value and df=1 as indicated in Table 1.

H2: The male gender is more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than their female counterparts.

Table 2: Sex of Respondent by Participation in Riot/Looting

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Participation</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Male	19	99
Female	7	101

<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significant</u>
Pearson	5.13	1	.02357

The results of the findings from Table 2 suggest that SCLA's male population is more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than the female population. This relationship is significant at .05 level, with a 5.13 value and df=1 as indicated in Table 2.

H3: Persons with a lower level of education are more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than persons with a higher level of education.

Table 3: Education by Participation in Riot/Looting

<u>Education</u>	<u>Participation</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
High Level	12	140
Low Level	15	53

<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Pearson	9.78	1	.00176

The results of the findings from Table 3 suggest that SCLA's population with a lower level of education is more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than those with a higher level of education. This relationship is significant at .05 level, with a value of 9.78 and df=1 as indicated in Table 3.

H4: Persons with a low level of income are more likely to have rioted than persons with a higher level of income.

Table 4: Income by Participation in Riot/Looting

<u>Income</u>	<u>Participation</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
\$0-\$19,999	21	113
\$20,000+	5	73

<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Pearson	3.93	1	.04743

The results of the findings from Table 4 suggest that SCLA's population with a lower level of income is more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than those with a higher level of income. This relationship is significant at .05 level, with an estimated 3.93 value and df=1 as indicated in Table 4.

H5: Persons who have been arrested are more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than those persons who had not been arrested.

Table 5: Arrested or Not Arrested by Participation in Riot/Looting

		<u>Participation</u>	
<u>Arrested</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Yes		12	38
No		14	161

<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Pearson	9.74	1	.00180

The results of the findings from Table 5 suggest that SCLA's population that had previously been arrested was more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than those who had not previously been arrested. This relationship is significant at .05 level, with an estimated 9.74 value and df=1 as indicated in Table 5.

H6: Persons with a low level of employment are more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than persons with a higher level of employment.

Table 6: Employment Status by Participation in Riot/Looting

<u>Employment</u>	<u>Participation</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Full-Time	9	80
Part-Time	11	68
Unemployed	6	49

<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Pearson	.63	2	.72970

The results of the findings from Table 6 suggest that SCLA's population with part-time or no employment is no more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than those with full-time employment. This lack of relationship is based on the .05 level of significance, with an estimated value of .63 and df=2 as indicated in Table 6.

H7: Persons who have lived and/or worked in the community for a short length of time are more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than persons who have lived and/or worked in the community for a long length of time.

Table 7: Lived and/or Worked in the Community
by Participation in Riot/Looting

		<u>Participation</u>	
<u>Lived</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
0-10 yrs.		9	45
10+ yrs.		17	153
<u>Worked</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
0-10 yrs.		23	142
10+ yrs.		3	55
<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Pearson	1.78	1	.18273
Pearson	3.20	1	.07353

The results of the findings from Table 7 suggest that SCLA's population that lived and/or worked in the community for a shorter length of time (10 years or less) is no more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than those who have lived and/or worked there for a longer length of time (more

than 10 years). This lack of relationship is based on the .05 level of significance, with an estimated 1.76 and 3.20 value and df=1 as indicated in Table 7.

H8: Persons who believe unnecessary force by the police is increasing are more likely to have participated in the riot/looting than persons who believe that the unnecessary force by the police is decreasing or about the same.

Table 8: Perception of Unnecessary Use of Force by Police by Participation in Riot/Looting

<u>Force By Police</u>	<u>Participation</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Increasing	12	110
Decreasing	3	15
About the Same	10	72

<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Pearson	.85	2	.65513

The results of the findings from Table 8 suggest that SCLA's population that believed unnecessary force by the police is increasing is no more likely to have participated in the

riot/looting than those who believed it is decreasing or about the same. This lack of relationship is based on the .05 level of significance, with an estimated .85 value and df=2 as indicated in Table 8.

H9: Persons who perceive the Los Angeles police as a negative force are more likely to have participated in riot/looting than those who perceive the LAPD as a positive force.

Table 9: Perception of Police As Positive or Negative Force by Participation in Riot/Looting

<u>Perceive Police</u>	<u>Participation</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Positive Force	8	81
Negative Force	17	116

<u>Chi-Square</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Pearson	.77	1	.38093

The results of the findings from Table 9 suggest that SCLA's population that perceived the Los Angeles police (in general) as a negative force is no more likely to have

participated in riot/looting than those who perceived it as a positive force. This lack of relationship is based on the .05 level of significance, with an estimated .77 value and $df=1$ as indicated in Table 9.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

Of the 227 respondents 118 were males and 109 females. The younger age group (15-30) made up 70.5 percent of the respondents; 29.5 percent were in the older age group (31 and above). At the time of the interviews 39.9 percent of the respondents were employed full-time; 35.4 percent were employed part-time; and 24.7 percent were unemployed. The income level of 63.2 percent of the respondents was between \$0-19,999; 36.8 percent earned \$20,000 or above. Sixty-nine percent had a high level of education (college/trade school); 31 percent had a low level of education (GED or high school). Twenty-four percent of the respondents had lived in the community where the riots occurred for 10 years or less. Seventy-four percent of these had also worked in the community for the same length of time. Seventy-six percent had lived in the community for 10 years or more. Twenty-six percent of these had worked there for the same length of time. Twenty-two percent had previously been arrested; 78 percent had not previously been arrested. Sixty percent perceived the police as a negative force; 40 percent perceived them to be a positive force. Fifty-five percent believed that the use of unnecessary force by the police was increasing; 36.9 percent believed it to be about

the same; and 8.1 percent believed it to be decreasing (that is since the Rodney King beating).

The large majority of the respondents (89 percent) did not participate in the riot and/or looting. Only 26 (11 percent) of the entire sample participated. Twenty-three of the 26 respondents who reported participation were in the young age group (15-30). Although the participation level was considerably low, a significant percentage (32 percent) of the non-participants felt that the rioters were justified in their actions. Sixty-three percent were outraged and angered over the King beating, while 36 percent reported sadness and fearfulness by the attack. Sixty percent were outraged and angered by the Simi Valley-not-guilty verdict, while 34 percent were saddened and fearful about it; 5 percent expressed varying reactions. Only twenty-two percent were outraged and angered about the Reginald Denny beating, while 41 percent were saddened and fearful; 36 percent were indifferent. Twenty-nine percent were outraged by the arrest of the four men accused of beating Reginald Denny; 28 percent were saddened and fearful; 43 percent expressed varying responses.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter summarizes the overall findings of the study, presents the researcher's conclusions, and deals with some implications of the project.

I interviewed 227 African-American respondents, who either lived and/or worked in South Central Los Angeles at the time of the Los Angeles 1992 riot, between January 15 through February 10, 1993. The interview schedule consisted of 31 questions designed to discover their reactions and feelings toward the incidents prior to the riot, the riot, and its aftermath. Included in this endeavor was the major objective to identify those respondents who had actually participated in the riot, and to compare them with those who did not participate in the riot; that is, on specific demographic and perceptual variables. This comparison comprised the major focus of the study. Additionally, and importantly, I recorded some qualitative assessments based on the respondents' answers and comments.

One of the most significant findings was that nearly 89 percent of the respondents did not participate in the riot, and did not accept rioting and looting as the proper way to effect social change. A smaller segment (11 percent) of the respondents felt otherwise; that is, they felt they

had been suffering and struggling under unequal and unjust social, economic, and criminal justice conditions for too long; without any noticeable improvement in their situation. These respondents told the researcher that they had decided that their views had to be heard through and by rioting. They reported that they rioted because they were angry over the King beating and the ensuing not guilty verdict; that it was time for action; that it was time to change things; and that maybe their actions would make things better for themselves and other blacks in the future. Some of these reasons might be recapitulated rationalizations for what they wanted to do anyway for whatever reason. No matter, these participants now present themselves to themselves and to others (including this interviewer) as worthy protestors and fighters for justice. Therefore, their message should be listened to and acted upon. Unless social change is effected in order to alleviate or ameliorate, the social and economic problems of this group (and other similarly placed blacks) and the communities from whence they come, other similar riots are likely.

Although the participation level was significantly low, thirty-two percent of the non-participants felt that the rioters were justified in their actions. Thus, the non-participants understood the rioters' degree of frustration and hostility, and did not blame them for reacting as they

did. According to many respondents the King beating left many blacks with little faith in the Los Angeles criminal justice system. To all respondents, the officers who beat King were supposed to protect and serve all community members. The reaction of many respondents at seeing the video of the beating was that it could just as well have been themselves taking the beating. The Simi Valley jury verdict exasperated their feelings of distrust for the criminal justice system. Though many respondents felt outraged and angered, many also experienced feelings of sadness and fearfulness. More than forty percent in this instance reported the feeling that the criminal justice system had failed them once again; and, that the black race had no value to those in authority. Twenty percent said that the not-guilty verdict granted the police freedom to mistreat other black citizens at will.

Twenty-two percent of the respondents were disturbed by the Reginald Denny beating; and, expressed the view that one beating did not deserve another. Another twenty-three percent felt that the four black men accused of beating Denny should be punished despite the inequalities of the criminal justice system which favored whites over blacks. On the other hand, thirty-six percent of the respondents were indifferent toward the beating of Reginald Denny; reported that he was simply "at the wrong place at the wrong

time;" and, that the four black accused assaulters of Denny should receive the same criminal justice treatment as was meted out to the white officers who beat Rodney King; that is, a verdict of not guilty. Finally, despite the violent riot in their midst, most black community members residing in the riot area were not willing to participate in the riot.

Implications for Future Studies

More studies should be conducted on the views and perceptions of the community members themselves toward the Los Angeles riot as based on further field research. In doing so, it is important that the interviewer takes the time to listen and talk with the respondents about subjects beyond those required on any interview schedule. Respondents' verbal remarks beyond what the interviewer asks for are very important to the subject at hand. It is also important that the interview schedule be specific and focused on the issues that the researcher is interested in examining. On the other hand, unsolicited data volunteered by respondents are frequently more significant than the data solicited. Larger samples than mine should be utilized, and topical outlines could be designed for more lengthy interviews. Finally, policy makers and members of the criminal justice system should pay careful attention to the

message that black community members are delivering. This message may not be delivered by bound theses in libraries alone. Research findings must be disseminated in some way to policy makers as well as to the wider community of white America. Academicians must learn how to showcase their findings beyond the halls of academe.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LETTER USED TO SOLICIT SUPPORT

CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
740 Beckwith Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
(404) 880-8725

January 15, 1993

Dear Sir or Madam:

Please allow me a moment of your time to introduce myself. My name is Ms. Gloria Armstrong, a second year graduate student in the Department of Criminal Justice Administration at Clark Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia. I am currently working on my thesis, dealing with the beating of motorist Rodney King and the impact it has had on Los Angeles' citizens, organizations, and businesses, the surrounding communities and the nation.

Researching this topic is of great significance to me, as a resident of Los Angeles, as well as to the members of our community in that it helps to understand race relations in this major city. This endeavor, however, will remain unaddressed without your input by answering the attached questionnaire. Please be assured that all information that you provide will be kept strictly confidential. If there are other persons of whom you are aware who could assist in this endeavor, I would be most grateful for your referral.

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Gloria R. Armstrong

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF APPROVAL TO ADMINISTER QUESTIONNAIRE

January 15, 1993

Dear Participant:

I would like to affirm that Ms. Gloria Armstrong is a second year graduate student in the Department of Criminal Justice Administration here at Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.

For the explicit purpose of obtaining data for her thesis, Ms. Armstrong is approaching you to administer a questionnaire. This research is to assess the effect and impact of the recent beating of Rodney King and the subsequent uprising it had on the Los Angeles community itself.

Most importantly, I would like to assure you that all information provided will be kept confidential. If you have any questions or concerns, please make Ms. Armstrong aware of them, or call me at (404) 880-8725.

We appreciate your cooperation in advance.

Sincerely,

K.S. Murty, Ph.D
Chairman,
Department of
Criminal Justice

KSM:gra

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR FIELD INTERVIEWS

(PLEASE PRINT)

1. AGE _____ 2. SEX ☐ MALE ☐ FEMALE
3. RACE _____
4. EDUCATION ☐ COLLEGE GRADUATE ☐ COLLEGE INCOMPLETE
☐ TRADE SCHOOL ☐ GED OR HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA
☐ HIGH SCHOOL INCOMPLETE ☐ OTHER
5. ARE YOU EMPLOYED? ☐ FULL-TIME (35 hrs. or more a week)
☐ PART-TIME (34 hrs. or less a week) ☐ UNEMPLOYED
6. INCOME LEVEL? ☐ 0-9,999 ☐ 10-19,999 ☐ 20-29,999
☐ 30-39,999 ☐ 40,000 OR MORE
7. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING (_____) AND
WORKING (_____) IN THE COMMUNITY?
8. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED BY THE POLICE PRIOR TO THE
RIOT? ☐ YES ☐ NO
9. HAVE YOU EVER GOTTEN IN TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE PRIOR
TO THE RIOT? (e.g. argument) ☐ YES ☐ NO
10. HOW WOULD YOU DEFINE THE UNNECESSARY USE OF PHYSICAL
FORCE BY THE POLICE?
11. DO YOU CONDONE THE USE OF UNNECESSARY FORCE BY THE
POLICE? ☐ YES ☐ NO
12. HOW OFTEN IS THE USE OF UNNECESSARY FORCE USED IN YOUR
COMMUNITY?
☐ VERY FREQUENTLY ☐ FREQUENTLY ☐ SOMETIMES
☐ RARELY ☐ NEVER
13. DO YOU THINK THE USE OF UNNECESSARY FORCE BY POLICE IS
☐ INCREASING ☐ DECREASING
OR ☐ ABOUT THE SAME?
14. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A SUBJECT OF UNNECESSARY USE OF
PHYSICAL FORCE? ☐ YES ☐ NO (IF NO, SKIP TO #19)

15. IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN THE SITUATION?
16. DID YOU EVER MAKE A FORMAL POLICE COMPLAINT?
☐ YES ☐ NO
17. IF YES, WHAT WAS THE OUTCOME?
☐ SUSPENSION ☐ COUNSELING ☐ DISMISSED
☐ NOTHING ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐ OTHER
18. IF NO, WHY NOT?
19. HOW DO YOU PERCEIVE THE LOS ANGELES POLICE IN GENERAL?
☐ AS LAW ENFORCERS ☐ AS PEACE KEEPERS ☐ AS A GANG
☐ AS A NEGATIVE FORCE ☐ AS A POSITIVE FORCE
20. WHERE WERE YOU WHEN YOU SAW THE VIDEOTAPE OF THE RODNEY KING BEATING?
☐ HOME ☐ WORK ☐ SCHOOL ☐ OTHER _____
☐ DIDN'T SEE THE VIDEOTAPE (SKIP TO QUESTION #22)
21. WHAT WAS YOUR INITIAL FEELING/REACTION?
☐ OUTRAGE ☐ DISBELIEF ☐ FEAR ☐ ANGER
☐ SAD ☐ UNCONCERNED ☐ OTHER _____
- A. WHY?
22. WHERE WERE YOU WHEN YOU HEARD THE TRIAL VERDICT OF "NOT GUILTY" OF THE LAPD OFFICERS?
☐ HOME ☐ WORK ☐ SCHOOL ☐ CAR ☐ OTHER _____
23. WHAT WAS YOUR INITIAL FEELING/REACTION?
☐ OUTRAGE ☐ DISBELIEF ☐ FEAR ☐ ANGER
☐ SAD ☐ UNCONCERNED ☐ OTHER _____
- A. WHY?
24. DID YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE RIOT AND/OR LOOTING?
☐ YES ☐ NO
- A. WHY?
25. DO YOU FEEL THE RIOTERS AND LOOTERS WERE JUSTIFIED IN THEIR ACTIONS? ☐ YES ☐ NO
- A. WHY?
26. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE GANG TRUCE?

27. DO YOU BELIEVE THERE IS A GANG TRUCE? ☐ YES ☐ NO

A. WHY?

28. IF YES, DO YOU THINK THE TRUCE WILL LAST?
☐ YES ☐ NO

A. WHY?

29. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE BEATING OF TRUCKER
REGINALD DENNY?
☐ OUTRAGE ☐ DISBELIEF ☐ FEAR ☐ ANGER
☐ SAD ☐ UNCONCERNED ☐ OTHER _____

A. WHY?

30. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE ARREST OF THE FOUR MEN JAILED
ACCUSED OF COMMITTING THE VIOLENT ACT AGAINST
REGINALD DENNY?
☐ OUTRAGE ☐ DISBELIEF ☐ FEAR ☐ ANGER
☐ SAD ☐ UNCONCERNED ☐ OTHER _____

A. WHY?

31. WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE IS THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM
OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS?

RETURN TO:
GLORIA ARMSTRONG
740 BECKWITH STREET
ATLANTA, GA. 30314

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